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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews and comments on the work related to black colleges which has been accomplished by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and its Commission on Colleges. The report explores the changes taking place during the accrediting process, together with a three-era historical perspective. (Author/DM)

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Black Colleges in the South
From Tragedy to Promise

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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An Historical and Statistical Review
by The Commission on Colleges

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Foreword

Black colleges in the South have performed a unique role in the history of American higher education—that of serving the educational needs of the Black youth of our country. They have done remarkably well.

Often operating with meager human and material resources, these Black colleges have survived negligence, racism, and internal conflict. With the movement toward greater Black awareness during the 1960's, a sense of pride has been instilled in Black people. Much of this movement has been attributed to changing attitudes and to overt expression of these attitudes by our country's youth, both Black and White.

Throughout this period, the presidents of the Black institutions have kept alive lofty ideals. By maintaining a sense of pride and dignity through those troubled years, these administrators were able to respond to the pressing needs and demands of Black youth. After a decade of rapid growth and development, the presidents could reassert their faith in the Black college and in its mission to provide a quality education to a large percentage of the nation's college-bound Black youth.

This paper reviews and comments on the work related to Black colleges which has been accomplished by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and its Commission on Colleges. It was authored by the staff members of the Commission on Colleges and was presented to the College Delegate Assembly of the Southern Association at the 75th Annual Meeting of that body in Atlanta, Georgia, on December 1, 1970. The opinions and observations expressed are those of the authors. They were endorsed by the Executive Council* of the Commission on Colleges but do not necessarily represent the opinions of all members of the Commission on Colleges or the College Delegate Assembly.

This report explores the changes which took place as these colleges sought and received accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. By relating the colleges' past accomplishments we hope to provide a basis for greater insight into their future needs. This historical perspective is developed through three eras which have been entitled *The Tragic Years, The Years of Dis-*

* Cecil Abernethy, Sister Dorothy Browne, Dana Hamel, Philip G. Hoffman, Richard Morley, John Peoples, Clarence Scheps, William Self, and J. K. Williams, Chairman.

covery and Realization, and *The Years of Crisis, Change and Promise.* Collectively, descriptions of the eras constitute a story of *Black Colleges: From Tragedy to Promise.*

It is our hope that this paper will pay tribute to those persons who have played an integral role in the development of the Black colleges—to those individuals within the colleges and to those from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Also, we are grateful to James Phillips for his assistance in preparing this paper for publication.

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The Tragic Years

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, when founded in 1895, was concerned with White institutions in the South. In 1928 the Association first took note of the Black institutions when a group of educators petitioned for help in standardizing and evalulating the education of Black youth. In response, the Association appointed a special committee and asked the American Council on Education to help develop a Black organization to work with Black institutions. The special committee, Committee on Approval for Negro Schools (or "Highsmith Committee," named after its chairman), and a group of Black educators worked out the mechanics of how to approve Negro colleges, universities and schools. Foundation funds were requested and the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation responded with $35,000 to aid the Southern Association in its inspection and evaluation of these schools.

In 1930 a list of Class A and Class B "Affiliated" Black colleges appeared in the *Proceedings* of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Class A listings included institutions which met in full the standards of the Association, and Class B listings included those institutions which did not yet meet in full one or more of the standards of the Association. The general quality of the work of the Class B schools, however, was such as to warrant the admission of their graduates to an institution requiring the bachelor's degree for entrance.

Fisk University was the only college listed in Class A the first year, but in 1932, seven other colleges were added. By 1932 also, thirty-six high schools were approved by the Committee and thereafter listings of both colleges and high schools were printed in the *Proceedings*.

Negro Association Founded

A major factor in the growth and strengthening of the Black institutions was the founding in 1934 of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools which was a merger of the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth and the Association of High School Education. The new body was formed at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia, with Dr. Thomas Elsa Jones of Fisk University as its first president. Dr. Leland S. Cozart was secretary-treasurer. From 1934 until its dissolution in 1965, this Association strived to improve education for the Black youth of the South. As early as 1943, leaders of the organization began to sound out members of the Highsmith Committee about the possibility of the two groups moving toward uniform accreditation procedures and about the feasibility of integrating the work of the organizations. The following recommendations were made by the Southern Association:

1. "That the same methods, machinery, and standards of evaluation used for inspecting and rating of secondary schools for Whites be applied in inspecting and rating secondary schools for Negroes in the various states. Concerning the inspection and rating of colleges, the Association recommends that the Committee on Approval of Negro Schools and the Executive Committee of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools appoint a panel of twenty-two persons . . . Out of this panel three for any college being inspected shall be named. One of these three shall be a member of the Committee on Approval of Negro Schools and the other shall be a Negro.
2. It is further recommended that only one member of the inspecting committee shall be a resident of the state in which the college being inspected is located."[1]

Liaison Committee Established

By 1948 a liaison committee had been established between the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (SACSS). This marked a turning point in the relationship of SACSS to the Black institutions.

In 1949 and 1950 the Executive Committee of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools created special committees to determine how best to effect uniform evaluation for all colleges, Black and White, in the South. In 1951, at St. Petersburg, Florida, it was recommended that the Highsmith Committee be discontinued; that the two associations meet in the same city at the same time in the future; that the services of the same visiting speakers and consultants be utilized by both groups when possible; and that a standing liaison committee to serve the two associations be appointed.

In 1952, a grant of $45,000 was made to the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools so that it might examine the Negro colleges carried at that time on a separate approved list. Each institution was visited by a survey team of SACSS and was carefully studied in terms of the Association's standards. The surveys were completed in the early part of 1956 and at the Southern Association's Annual Meeting in Dallas, Texas, that year, the Commission on Colleges reported on a plan for bringing qualified institutions for Negroes into full membership beginning in December, 1957, and for eliminating the separate lists by December, 1961. This plan was approved.

[1] Cozart, Leland Stanford, *A History of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools* (Charlotte, N. C.: Heritage Printers, 1967), pp. 49-50.

Negro Schools Accredited

All of the sixty-three colleges involved were asked to file complete reports in 1957, and these reports and the original surveys were to be analyzed by a joint subcommittee representing the Committees on Standards and Reports (junior and senior colleges), and the Committees on Admission to Membership (junior and senior colleges). From these reports, the Commission was to recommend for membership those colleges for Negroes which met fully the standards of the Association. Other colleges, unless dropped, would remain temporarily on the original list but be identified as failing to meet one or more standards or as being on probation. A college for Negroes would have to qualify for membership in the Association by 1961 or lose its accredited status, since the separate list would not be maintained after that date under the approved plan.

New Men Brought New Wisdom

The real drama of the relationship between the Southern Association and the Black colleges was enacted between 1948 and 1960. Those years of flux witnessed a slow, though certain, changing of the guard. Succeeding years brought new interpretations of the worth of Black colleges. New men with greater wisdom were able to view the Black institutions in less paternalistic terms and to foresee the potentialities of the institutions. Without this juxtaposition, perhaps these second-class citizens of accreditation, the "A"- and "B"-rated Black colleges, would have remained second-class.

In 1961 Dean W. H. McEniry, Jr., then of Stetson University and President of the Southern Association, as well as a former member of the College Commission, spoke highly of the accomplishments of the members of the Highsmith Committee:

"These gentlemen performed a great service for the Negro Colleges and for the Commission on Colleges and Universities. In our pleasure and excitement at more recent achievements, we would do well to pause and thank them again for a job extremely well done."[2]

Henry King Stanford, Chairman of the Commission on Colleges and Universities, ended his report at the 1961 Annual Meeting thusly:

"The separate listing of Negro colleges and universities on an 'approved' list will be discontinued, effective tomorrow . . . Second class citizenship for the Negro institutions will be discontinued

[2] Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, *Proceedings* (Atlanta, Ga., 1961), p. 56.

and the names of all qualified Negro colleges will be absorbed into the membership lists of the Association."[3]

In 1967 Gordon W. Sweet, Executive Secretary of the Commission on Colleges, in a speech made at the inauguration of President J. O. Perpener of Jarvis Christian College, referred to the changing times:

"Some, perhaps, would not be proud of the early history of the relationship of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools to the Negro colleges because of the separate 'approved' and 'accredited' listing and denial of membership for these institutions. And yet the Commission on Colleges took steps long before any court judgments to integrate its membership. I remember clearly that I joined committees visiting these colleges as early as 1949 after the decision had been made to bring them into membership. From that time to the present the growth of these colleges in faculty, resources, and services has been immense and almost beyond description. I think probably our office is the only place where the evidence of this change exists."[4]

Thus *The Tragic Years* ended on a note of optimism. The 1960's and 1970's offered years of promise, although they, too, would have their frustrations and anxieties.

[3] Stanford, Henry King, "Report of the Chairman of the Commission on Colleges and Universities," *Proceedings* (Atlanta, Ga.: Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1961), pp. 160-161.

[4] From an unpublished speech in possession of author and speaker Gordon W. Sweet, Executive Secretary, Commission on Colleges, Atlanta, Ga.

Discovery and Realization

The addition of the Black colleges to the membership lists and the quest by the institutions for academic excellence and first-class citizenship ushered in an era of *Discovery and Realization.*

Descriptions by some individuals of present conditions in the Black colleges tend to overlook the great forward strides which they have made. Most reports recognize the historically "elite" Black schools, but ignore the efforts and advances made by many smaller, lesser-known colleges in academic programs, faculty growth, libraries, and financial resources.

Some writers have compared the Black colleges with the academically "elite" White colleges. By ignoring the wide differences between White and Black colleges in educational objectives, historical origins, student enrollments, and financial resources, these writers have performed a disservice to many Black institutions.

Study Made to Assess Gains

The study by the Commission on Colleges on which this report is based was undertaken to assess the observed gains made within the Black colleges in the Southern Association's region. The results of the study, indeed, show advances are being made at undergraduate and graduate, public and private Black colleges.

There are now (1971) sixty-seven accredited Black institutions of higher education in the region of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. For the purpose of study, statistics from the late 1950's were gathered for thirty-nine of these colleges and compared with statistics from the late 1960's for forty-two of these institutions. The same institutions were included in both analyses, and three additional ones were added to the 1960's group (Appendix A).

These colleges were compared by degree-level (undergraduate or graduate) and by type of control (public or private). An undergraduate institution was defined as one offering the baccalaureate degree only, and a graduate institution was defined as one offering the baccalaureate degree, first professional degree, master's degree, and/or doctoral degree. Most graduate institutions offered only a few master's degree-level programs, and only one graduate institution in the sample (Atlanta University) offered the doctorate.

In the *then* study, representative of the years 1956-57 to 1958-59, data were primarily collected from one source, the "Report of the Twenty-One Standards" required by the Commission on Colleges. The year most represented was 1957-58.

The data from the forty-two colleges in the *now* study were representative of the years 1963-64 to 1968-69, depending upon the

year in which reaffirmation of accreditation occurred at each college. The year most represented was 1967-68. Data were gathered from several sources, but the primary source was the ten-year Self-Study Reports prepared for reaffirmation of accreditation. As secondary sources, the Visiting Committee Reports and Fifth-Year Interim Reports were used.

In view of the intent to compare Black colleges in the late 1950's to those in the late 1960's and to trace their development, institutions which undertook reporting and self-study during those years were chosen. Two random samples were taken which included public, private, four-year undergraduate, and graduate colleges. In both samples chosen, there were more undergraduate than graduate colleges and more private than public colleges.

The colleges were compared collectively by both degree-level and by type of control for both *then* and *now* and two measures of central tendency, the *mean* and the *median*, were used to represent the data. Because the figures in many of the areas were widely dispersed, the *median* figure was used in making the comparisons.

In comparing the colleges *then* and *now*, six major criteria were used: (1) Enrollment Variations, (2) Faculty Preparation and Salaries, (3) Academic Fields, (4) Library Holdings, (5) Library Expenditures, and (6) Institutional Finances.

Enrollment Variations

The Black colleges, in general, underwent a significant rate of growth in full-time-equivalent enrollment from the late 1950's to the late 1960's (Table I). The undergraduate institutions saw an increase in median enrollment of more than 100 percent in the ten-year period. Enrollment at graduate institutions increased more than 50 percent, yet these institutions enrolled almost three times as many students as did undergraduate institutions.

Enrollment at the private colleges increased twice as rapidly

TABLE I

Median Full-Time-Equivalent Enrollment, Percentage of Change, and Range of Enrollments at N Black Colleges, Then and Now

COLLEGES	THEN			NOW			% CHANGE
	Mdn.	Range	N*	Mdn.	Range	N*	
Undergraduate	472	156-2106	23	952	450-4229	25	101.7
Graduate	1589	288-3908	16	2401	866-7374	17	51.1
Public	1793	528-3908	15	2569	1159-7374	17	43.3
Private	461	156-1801	24	886	450-2614	25	92.2
All Colleges Represented	740	156-3908	39	1177	450-7374	42	59.1

* N=Number of Black Colleges Represented

as enrollment at the public colleges. However, the public colleges enrolled three times the number of students as did private institutions (Table I). The undergraduate and the private colleges, generally the smaller institutions, experienced the greatest rate of increase in enrollment.

The rate of student attrition for academic reasons at Black colleges was much lower in the 1950's, at a time when Black youth were graduating from poor, non-accredited secondary schools. Today the calibre of these high schools has improved appreciably, yet the attrition rates for academic reasons have doubled at the colleges. Even though they enroll a more highly motivated and better prepared student, the attrition would indicate that these colleges have raised their academic standards significantly.

As for the future, the Black institutions, particularly the smaller colleges which have been forced to raise tuition fees, appear less likely to make significant gains in enrollment. Assuming state legislatures continue to finance the major burden of operating expenditures, public institutions can maintain a good quality academic program at a relatively lower cost for the student, and these colleges will continue to grow in enrollment.

Faculty Preparation and Salaries

One measure of the academic quality of an institution is the academic preparation of the faculty. Although this factor is not the only determinant, it is one measure of a college's achievement which helps to predict instructional effectiveness at the institution.

In comparing statistics for all the Black colleges studied (Table II-A), the median percentage of the faculty holding the doctorate has increased from 21 percent *then* to 26 percent *now*. This includes all instructional areas within an institution, such as art, music, health and physical education, and other disciplines which normally have a low percentage of doctorate holders. One small private college increased its doctorate-holding faculty from 0 percent

TABLE II-A

Median Percent of Faculty with Doctoral Degrees and Range of Percentages at N Black Colleges, Then and Now

COLLEGES	THEN			NOW		
	Mdn.	Range	N	Mdn.	Range	N
Undergraduate	21%	0-50%	23	25%	12-50%	25
Graduate	21	12-57	16	30	22-67	17
Public	16	12-37	15	26	12-38	17
Private	24	0-57	24	29	13-67	25
All Colleges Represented	21	0-57	39	26	12-67	42

then to 23 percent *now*, and another college increased its doctorates from 5 percent *then* to 49 percent *now*. Broken down by degree-level and type of control, all colleges registered an increase in the faculty holding the doctorate, with 30 percent of the faculty at the graduate colleges *now* holding the terminal degree.

On the other hand, the faculty with the master's degree and advanced work has decreased over this period of time from 68 percent to 66 percent (Table II-B) which may be attributed to an increasing number of faculty members who have acquired a doctorate since the earlier study, or to the institution's desire to employ more doctorate holders on the faculty, or to both.

A number of colleges *now* employ only a small number of faculty members in music, art, or in other fields in which practical experience can be substituted for advanced degrees. Several colleges which had as many as thirty or forty faculty members with bachelor's degrees during the late 1950's have retained only three or four persons at this degree level.

The Black colleges have made significant gains in raising faculty salaries. They have increased salaries in all four major faculty ranks (professor to instructor) almost 100 percent from *then* to *now* (Table III). *Median* faculty salaries at the public colleges and at the graduate colleges were higher both *then* and *now*, although salaries increased more rapidly at the private colleges and at the undergraduate colleges during this period.

Academic Fields

Another measure of the overall upgrading of the Black colleges is the restructuring of academic majors and course offerings. For example, there has been a pronounced increase in specialization within the field of education. Fourteen of the forty-two colleges studied have discontinued a general major in education since the *then* study and have replaced it with more specific majors, such as

TABLE II-B

Median Percent of Faculty with Master's Degrees and Advanced Work Toward the Doctorate, and Range of Percentages at N Black Colleges, Then and Now

COLLEGES	THEN			NOW		
	Mdn.	Range	N	Mdn.	Range	N
Undergraduate	70%	49-88%	23	66%	49-79%	25
Graduate	65	41-78	16	65	33-74	16
Public	72	58-82	15	68	60-78	16
Private	68	41-88	24	65	33-82	25
All Colleges Represented	68	41-88	39	66	33-79	41

elementary education, secondary education, special education, or education and psychology. Historically, the most prevalent major at these schools has been education.

Another general area which has undergone change since the late 1950's is the social sciences. Nine of the colleges studied have discontinued a major entitled "social sciences," and many more have increased their offerings in specific majors, including sociology, philosophy, political science, and history. Another trend over the ten-year period has been the combining of majors such as sociology and anthropology, history and political science, and religion and philosophy. It appears that many colleges have attempted to reorder their social science departments considerably to meet student demand for interdisciplinary programs and to make course offerings economically feasible.

Courses for the natural and physical sciences also have been expanded, with greater emphasis on the majors of biology, chemistry, and physics. Eight colleges have added a physics major, seven

TABLE III

Median Faculty Salaries by Rank, and Percentage of Change at N Black Colleges, Then and Now

COLLEGES	FACULTY RANK[a]	THEN Mdn.	THEN N[b]	NOW Mdn.	NOW N[b]	% CHANGE
Undergraduate	P	$5500	43	$10,225	44	85.9
	AP_1	4499	44	8,750	44	94.5
	AP_2	3900	44	7,500	44	92.3
	I	3300	44	6,600	44	100.0
Graduate	P	6150	32	11,241	28	82.8
	AP_1	5100	32	9,250	29	81.4
	AP_2	4200	32	8,117	29	93.3
	I	3899	31	6,758	29	73.3
Public	P	6299	30	11,500	32	82.6
	AP_1	5250	30	9,640	32	83.6
	AP_2	4350	30	8,182	32	88.1
	I	3750	30	7,170	32	91.2
Private	P	5400	45	10,000	40	85.2
	AP_1	4499	46	8,300	41	84.5
	AP_2	3899	46	7,500	41	92.4
	I	3300	45	6,000	41	81.8
All Colleges Represented	P	5699	75	10,599	72	86.0
	AP_1	4500	76	9,197	73	104.4
	AP_2	4199	76	8,000	73	90.5
	I	3300	75	6,700	73	103.0

[a] P=Professor; AP_1=Associate Professor; AP_2=Assistant Professor; I=Instructor

[b] N=Total number of minimum and maximum faculty salaries listed for each faculty rank. Not all colleges used a discrete minimum-maximum range; some used "$9000-Up," etc.

have added a biology major, and seven have started a chemistry major since the late 1950's. The greatest increase in the percentage of the faculty holding the doctorate has been in the natural and physical sciences. This reflects efforts to de-emphasize traditional majors and to emphasize those of greater employment opportunity for the Black graduate.

Library Holdings

Over the years Black colleges have had difficulty allocating sufficient funds for the library from their Educational and General (E & G) budgets. Nevertheless, these colleges have greatly increased their library holdings since the late 1950's. They showed a 69 percent increase in the number of volume holdings, from 33,000 *then* to over 55,000 *now* (Table IV-A). These figures include all bound volumes, but do not include manuscripts, special documents,

TABLE IV-A

Median Library Volume Holdings, Percentage of Change, and Range of Holdings at N Black Colleges, Then and Now*

COLLEGES	THEN			NOW			% CHANGE
	Mdn.	Range	N	Mdn.	Range	N	
Undergraduate	23,546	6,710-46,726	22	42,110	18,915-95,152	25	78.8
Graduate	67,387	31,680-143,648	16	110,133	43,780-290,584	17	63.4
Public	55,962	21,740-122,486	15	95,152	32,207-290,584	17	70.0
Private	26,273	6,710-143,648	23	48,426	18,915-210,000	25	84.3
All Colleges Represented	33,083	6,710-143,648	38	55,892	18,915-290,584	42	68.9

* Includes bound volumes only.

TABLE IV-B

Median Library Expenditures per Full-Time-Equivalent Student, Percentage of Change, and Range of Expenditures per Student at N Black Colleges, Then and Now

COLLEGES	THEN			NOW			% CHANGE
	Mdn.	Range	N	Mdn.	Range	N	
Undergraduate	$33	$10-50	23	$61	$19-137	25	84.8
Graduate	41	30-308	16	70	32-238	17	70.7
Public	35	30-53	15	61	32-97	17	74.3
Private	35	10-308	24	70	19-238	25	100.0
All Colleges Represented	35	10-308	39	66	19-238	42	88.6

or microfilms. Median holdings at the undergraduate colleges *now* exceed 42,000 volumes, and at the graduate colleges exceed 110,000 volumes. Library holdings have increased six to nine percent annually at these colleges.

Library Expenditures

The total library expenditures per full-time-equivalent student have increased significantly (Table IV-B). The graduate colleges and the private colleges spend a slightly higher dollar amount per student than the undergraduate and public colleges. However, students at almost all the Black colleges are *now* receiving the benefits of increased library appropriations and expenditures through more library holdings and improved library services.

Institutional Finances

Through the late 1960's, the private Black colleges generated more E & G income per student and spent more of this income per student than the public colleges (Table V-A and V-B). The per-

TABLE V-A

Median Educational and General Income per Full-Time-Equivalent Student, Percentage of Change, and Range of Income at N Black Colleges, Then and Now

COLLEGES	THEN			NOW			% CHG.
	Mdn.	Range	N	Mdn.	Range	N	
Undergraduate	$ 848	$374-1188	23	$1595	$983-2691	25	88.0
Graduate	1029	635-2621	16	1406	308-2954	17	36.6
Public	943	527-2137	15	1392	308-2812	17	47.6
Private	861	374-2621	24	1616	1006-2954	25	87.7
All Colleges Represented	889	374-2621	39	1435	308-2954	42	61.4

TABLE V-B

Median Educational and General Expenditures per Full-Time-Equivalent Student, Percentage of Change, and Range of Expenditures at N Black Colleges, Then and Now

COLLEGES	THEN			NOW			% CHG.
	Mdn.	Range	N	Mdn.	Range	N	
Undergraduate	$ 703	$304-960	23	$1338	$649-2505	25	90.3
Graduate	1045	474-2427	16	1367	846-2720	17	30.8
Public	876	474-1569	15	1159	781-2707	17	37.3
Private	743	304-2427	24	1385	649-2720	25	86.4
All Colleges Represented	780	304-2427	39	1352	649-2720	42	73.3

centage increases in income and expenditures per student at the private colleges over this period of time also exceeded the percentage increases at the public colleges. Inadequate state appropriations or low tuition fees contributed to the income gap between the public colleges and the private colleges.

In observing the colleges by degree-level, the undergraduate institutions have increased income per student significantly, and now generate *more* income per student than the graduate institutions. Furthermore, the undergraduate colleges spent almost as much per full-time-equivalent student ($1,338) as the graduate colleges ($1,367). This parallels the other advances made at the undergraduate level.

Value of the physical plant is another measure of growth in the Black colleges. Here, also, great change has occurred. From a median plant value of $2.9 million in the late 1950's, there was an increase to $8.2 million in the late 1960's (Table VI). There has been a faster rate of increase in plant value in the private colleges (161 percent) than in the public colleges (100 percent), although public college plants are worth almost four times as much as private college plants. The median value of the physical plant at the graduate colleges also is about four times greater than the plant value at the undergraduate colleges.

TABLE VI

Median Value of the Physical Plant, Percentage of Change, and Range of Values at N Black Colleges, Then and Now

COLLEGES	THEN			NOW			% CHG.
	Mdn.	Range	N	Mdn.	Range	N	
Undergraduate	$1,759,107	$584,860-4,000,000	22	$4,489,225	$1,762,028-21,309,531	20	155.2
Graduate	7,703,034	1,698,656-14,889,305	17	15,605,540	4,324,228-35,000,000	16	102.6
Public	7,798,108	1,834,536-14,889,305	15	15,605,540	5,600,000-35,000,000	16	100.1
Private	1,759,107	584,860-14,287,773	24	4,601,769	1,762,028-21,144,000	20	161.6
All Colleges Rep'd.	2,903,340	584,860-14,889,305	39	8,243,826	1,762,028-35,000,000	36	183.9

Years of Crisis, Change and Promise

Progress made by Black colleges over the years has not been easy; the road has been long and rough, and its end is not yet in sight. Even so, the swiftness of the times and the complexity of the problems make it necessary for them to move faster and with more precision in order to close the gaps which beset, plague, and deny them.

The fulfillment of an institution's plan for its future depends primarily upon the faculty and its talent, ability, imagination, and willingness to face issues and change. Some faculty members say that they are looking for students of any race and want only to develop the best institution for them. Others say that their students will continue to be Black and thus, for some years ahead, the college has particular responsibilities to the Black student.

Must Broaden Purposes

The Black colleges must broaden their purposes and their goals. They must develop the best educational programs possible to produce the desired results for their students. The colleges must look for opportunities to serve the Black man outside the campus in his adjustment to and understanding of urban living, the integrated society, and other situations which face any minority group.

The Black college will become the center of expanding education and educational opportunities for persons of all ages. There is no other social institution so well qualified with its faculty and its location to reach out into its area of influence, to design and conduct programs which will compensate for the cultural lack of the people, and to close the educational gap for those wanting more training.

With tenures of twenty-five years or more in some colleges, the presidents have kept Black institutions alive. Now younger men increasingly will enter positions of leadership. Their "young Turk" attitudes give them the ability to communicate with the young people who are arriving on campus filled with a spirit of independence, and who are breaking away from some of the restrictions of home and church. These young leaders will begin a decentralized management procedure on the campus, will send their people out for further training, and will bring in others with new ideas and up-to-date procedures.

These young presidents of private institutions undoubtedly will ask that governing boards be diversified, especially if there is church control. Already there is a gradual change within the church power structures which control colleges and a change within the boards which control institutions. Diversification of the board

membership will bring to the board men who do not desire prestige alone, but who are willing to give their talents in formulating policy, in fund raising, and in developing vital community relations—all while carefully avoiding involvement in the detailed operation of the institution.

Improved Academic Leadership Needed

Just as they improve in the area of business management, so will Black colleges improve in the area of academic leadership. Often the institutions do not efficiently utilize their academic personnel. There has been an uneasy delegation of authority by the president to faculty members, thus denying them an opportunity to plan curricula creatively and effectively.

In spite of the exodus of Black Ph.D.'s to White colleges and to government, the Black colleges can and do compete in salaries with other colleges of similar size and resources. Some White faculty have been hired and have helped the colleges; others have been the source of trouble and have hurt the institutions.

A program of selection, development, and retention of competent faculty is needed to insure stability in the educational program. Teaching loads and course offerings must be further scrutinized in order to provide more time for faculty members to counsel with students, to plan new approaches to classroom work, and to pursue professional improvement. Cooperative programs, or integrating the programs of two or more institutions, should be another step in a continuing study of the curriculum. This would encourage the sharing of equipment and facilities, joint appointments of faculty members where institutions are in close proximity, and cooperative long-range planning.

Experiments and New Ideas Needed

The colleges should continue with the subjects and programs long considered fundamental, but they should eliminate those which do not fulfill contemporary needs. Many colleges will want to try some things new and experimental. It will be a while before all colleges will have the resources, faculty, and students for programs which are individualized, experimental, or interdisciplinary. Yet each college has the obligation to see to it that a student gets the best possible education somewhere, *even if elsewhere*, and to help him find the Black or White college which will meet his particular needs.

There will continue to be a great responsibility for the training of public school teachers, but a change of attitude and obligation is sorely needed on the part of the faculty. Their proteges, the

prospective young teachers, need to graduate with new ideas and new concepts of how to guide their students into career and job preparation. They should not, as teachers, depict any kind of further or continuing education as alien or inferior, whether it be professional, technical or vocational.

Graduate work should not be undertaken by colleges unless the academic integrity of the undergraduate program can be maintained and financial support is unusually strong for superimposed graduate studies. Institutions starting new programs or expanding existing programs should appraise critically the resources at their disposal and study the possible effects of graduate work on the undergraduate program. Graduate education is expensive, and institutions engaged in it should take into consideration national estimates of average per-student cost at advanced levels of instruction. They should initiate or continue programs at the master's degree level only in areas where there is a great need, such as teaching in the public schools; yet encourage and prepare the undergraduate to move out into other universities for major programs. All professional schools now are opening to the Black man, as have professional schools such as medicine and law. The undergraduate college could design special pre-professional programs to assure the Black student a place in the professional school and to give him the ability to compete with all students.

More Financial Support Called For

These colleges will be looking for new sources of income and increased amounts from present sources. They will make better studies of family income and take steps to raise tuition in the private institutions. State legislatures and boards of state colleges must give the same per-student support to the Black colleges as to the White. The small religious denominations now contributing to the Negro colleges will continue support, but it will not be enough to maintain private institutions. Some interdenominational efforts must be made to bring small colleges together for a pooling of resources and denominational appropriations.

For the public institutions, legislators have been appropriating larger sums of money, but this is a gradual process and the time required to reach the ideal will vary from state to state.

Today there is a general willingness on the part of foundations to help Black institutions finance their programs, libraries, faculty development, and physical plants. Not many questions are being asked about the quality of the institution or the job it is doing. This dearth of questions will not last long. Funding agencies soon will look at the quality of the program and will expect it to be financed

by the supporting or governing bodies. They will expect the colleges to perform greater and broader services and special grants will be given in support of programs which go beyond the campus.

Students Demand Action

During the past several years, most Black colleges as well as many White institutions have been surprised by the actions of their students. They were not prepared for the actions, did not know the root causes, and found that traditional methods would not effect control. Now the colleges must find the ways and the means for anticipating such actions, and of communicating with the students. These students are coming to the colleges accustomed to more freedom than they had ten or fifteen years ago; yet in some colleges, student personnel programs and administration attitudes have not been liberalized in ten or fifteen years.

These students are coming to the colleges better educated. They come protesting, or are easily led to protest, the status of the Black in southern and American society. They protest their status in relation to the college administration, faculty, student personnel policies, failures of government to fulfill American ideals, the military draft and foreign policy, their lack of a voice in university decisions, faculty indifference and incompetence, and the quality of education received. Some protest occurs because the student is Black and some because he is a student.

Most Black colleges throughout the South have been disturbed by student protest, the students frequently alleging irrelevant curricula. The drive for Black Power has offered a clear opportunity for educated and education-seeking Blacks to give collective expression to their grievances and to identify with the Black community. They have identified the curriculum as irrelevant and have used it as a catalyst for campus unrest. The relevant curriculum, in the eyes of many students, is one that is of immediate use in dealing with the contemporary urban society.

The move toward Black separation also has stimulated student unrest. Until a few years ago, Black students tended to be individualistic, assimilative, and politically indifferent. Black student unions and Afro-American associations now exist on most campuses where there are significant numbers of Black students.

What is the responsibility of the Black college in offering Black studies programs? Some say that through such programs a racial pride can be developed which will respond in a positive way to uncontrolled Black Power movements. These proponents contend that a program of social information is built on respect for contemporary culture and its problems; on art, music and literature

which may be of the Black race. At the same time, they say that any college, Black or White, should bring the contributions of all races into the general educational program.

Protests Must Be Understood

The dimensions of student protest must be understood as part of a world-wide phenomenon. Black student protests cannot be understood outside the framework of the historical condition of the Black man in American society or without reference to contemporary student protests against this condition.

The present generation of Black college students has participated in the civil rights movement. Until the last decade, and with few historical exceptions, Black students have had faith in the American dream and in the ultimate goodness of the White man. Black students now feel that they have trusted Whites too much. They have come to believe that most Whites regard racial integration as Blacks wanting only to mix with Whites; when they, as all Blacks, simply want rights and respect as human beings. They want to live in an open, free society where they may choose their own company. This is what Black separatism is all about.

Many Black students say that Whites are more insecure than they are and have more self-hate since they need racism to maintain a sense of self. The Blacks' new aggressive assertion of their separate identity helps to strengthen the attitudes of White segregationists who are happy to keep them separate. Some Whites see this new mood as racism in reverse. But to the extent that Black separation celebrates Black culture and nourishes Black pride, it is a positive, important, undoubtedly permanent phenomenon and represents a retreat from hate within society.

To numerous Blacks, Black Power is not separation but the ability to survive the system and to effect change. It is not isolation, but a way to work with decent people for a decent society; it is not domination, but development of a partnership; it is not destruction, but a building-up to help Blacks rise out of deprivation; it is not riots and violence, but understanding and acceptance; it is not enslavement, but freeing all men to choose their own destinies. Through Black Power, individuals are able to put things together so that Black people will be able to influence the direction of the system, to meet the needs of Blacks squarely and fairly, and to build a system of true democracy.

In an attempt to integrate fully our school systems, court orders have in many cases solidified the resistance of White institutions against accepting Black students. In the majority of cases, Black high schools have been closed or consolidated with White

high schools. From these consolidated schools come the students that Black colleges will accept and with whom they must deal.

Black colleges will have to cope with many problems. The incoming Black student is quite concerned about the system of which he is to become a part when he graduates. The student who had to leave the Black high school and enroll in a White high school did not have the same opportunity to become president of the student government association, captain of a sports team, or to take a leadership role in any organization. The Black student had the problem of adjusting to a new and different environment.

Over the years, Black institutions have been willing to invest in the students they accepted and have helped them to become productive citizens. They will continue to do this as Black students choose to attend Black colleges where they have a feeling of acceptance and security. White colleges have dealt with Black students over the years as if they were not qualified to perform on an academic level with White students, or else lacked the motivation needed to attain certain academic goals. Many administrators at White institutions have suggested that Black students have a lower level of aspiration and that an influx of Black students would lower the standards of the institutions.

Educational Role Must Continue

Black colleges must bear the brunt of educating the Negro for the next twenty-five years, whether or not public schools are turned into a unitary system, retain freedom-of-choice plans, or are returned to total segregation. It is hoped that this education will be offered on a higher intellectual level and that various educational programs can play a significant role in helping to integrate the American society. Certainly, the Black colleges can strive to help their students rise above the man-made barriers between races, cultures, and nationalities.

These problems of our times cannot be solved by Blacks alone, nor can they be solved by Whites alone. They are problems which involve people of all races.

The history of the relationship between the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and the Black colleges is not just one of an organization working with institutions; rather, it is an epic involving people, reflecting their conflicts, anxieties, promises, and compromises. It is a story of the dedication of both simple and of brilliant men, of the educated and not-so-educated, who overcame their prejudices to ensure the success of Black education in America.

Appendix A

Alphabetical Listing of the Black Colleges Included in the Study:

1. Alabama State University, Montgomery, Alabama
2. Albany State College, Albany, Georgia
* 3. Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
4. Barber-Scotia College, Concord, North Carolina
5. Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina
6. Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida
7. Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia
8. Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana
9. Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
10. Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, Tallahassee, Florida
11. Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Georgia
12. Grambling College, Grambling, Louisiana
13. Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia
14. Huston-Tillotson College, Austin, Texas
15. Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, North Carolina
16. Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky
17. Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee
18. LeMoyne-Owen College, Memphis, Tennessee
** 19. Mississippi Valley State College, Itta Bena, Mississippi
20. Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia
21. Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia
** 22. Norfolk State College, Norfolk, Virginia
23. North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, Greensboro, North Carolina
24. North Carolina Central University, Durham, North Carolina
25. Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College, Prairie View, Texas
26. Rust College, Holly Springs, Mississippi
27. Saint Paul's College, Lawrenceville, Virginia
28. South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, South Carolina
29. Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana
30. Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia
31. Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama
32. Tennessee State University, Nashville, Tennessee
33. Texas College, Tyler, Texas
34. Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas
35. Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi
36. Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
37. Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia
38. Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia

39. Voorhees College, Denmark, South Carolina
40. Wiley College, Marshall, Texas
41. Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
** 42. Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana

Appendix B

As indicated in this report, the Black colleges studied were randomly selected. The other Black colleges accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools are as follows:

Senior Colleges

1. Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical University, Normal, Alabama
2. Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, Lorman, Mississippi
3. Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina
4. Bishop College, Dallas, Texas
5. Claflin College, Orangeburg, South Carolina
6. Elizabeth City State University, Elizabeth City, North Carolina
7. Fayetteville State University, Fayetteville, North Carolina
8. Florida Memorial College, Opa-Locka, Florida
9. Jackson State College, Jackson, Mississippi
10. Jarvis Christian College, Hawkins, Texas
11. Lane College, Jackson, Tennessee
12. Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina
13. Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama
14. Oakwood College, Huntsville, Alabama
15. Paine College, Augusta, Georgia
16. Saint Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina
17. Savannah State College, Savannah, Georgia
18. Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina
19. Southern University, New Orleans, Louisiana
20. Southern University, Shreveport, Louisiana
21. Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama

Junior Colleges

1. Mobile State Junior College, Mobile, Alabama
2. Morristown College, Morristown, Tennessee
3. Saint Philip's College, San Antonio, Texas
4. Theodore Alfred Lawson State Junior College, Birmingham, Alabama

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* Graduate-level institution offering post-baccalaureate degrees only
** Statistics available for the *Now* study only

Black Colleges in the South